



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE RISE OF ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE

THE question of the origin of Romanesque sculpture, raised by M. Mâle in a recent and brilliant article,¹ is a problem that is at once obscure, important, and dramatic. Until the year 1100, or very shortly before, there existed in Europe little sculpture worthy of the name. A few crude attempts to represent iconographical subjects in stone had been made, especially in France and Italy, and sculpture in bronze had been carried to the level of a high art in Italy and Germany. Ivory-carvings apparently continued to be produced according to a highly developed and unbroken tradition reaching back to antiquity. But there was no sculpture in stone comparable in artistic value to the ivory-carvings, nor to the architecture that was now growing up throughout the length and breadth of Europe.

Then, suddenly, in the twelfth century there appears sculpture of great excellence especially in France and in Italy. The new art naturally divides itself into a number of local schools, for the most part clearly enough marked by geographical boundaries. In France there is, first in importance but not in date, the school of the royal domain centering about Paris and developing rapidly into Gothic. In the South-west appeared the school of Languedoc, of which the chief monuments are at Moissac and Toulouse. In the South-east the school of Provence produced the façades of Arles and St.-Gilles. In the East, the school of Burgundy, which is believed to have drawn its inspiration from the destroyed abbey of Cluny, has left important monuments at Charlieu, Vézelay, and Autun. In Auvergne there matured a fifth school, of minor historical importance, but which reached a notable level of artistic attainment at Notre-Dame-du-Port of Clermont-Ferrand. Finally in Saintonge and Poitou arose a sixth school. In Italy also there are almost as many local schools as provinces, but in the present connection there is only one which need concern us, that of Lombardy, of which the centre was not

¹ 'L'architecture et la sculpture en Lombardie à l'époque romane,' *Gaz. B.-A.* XIV, 1918, p. 35.

in Lombardy at all, but rather in Emilia at Modena and in the adjacent cities of Piacenza, Ferrara, even Verona.

The problems offered to archaeology by these various schools of

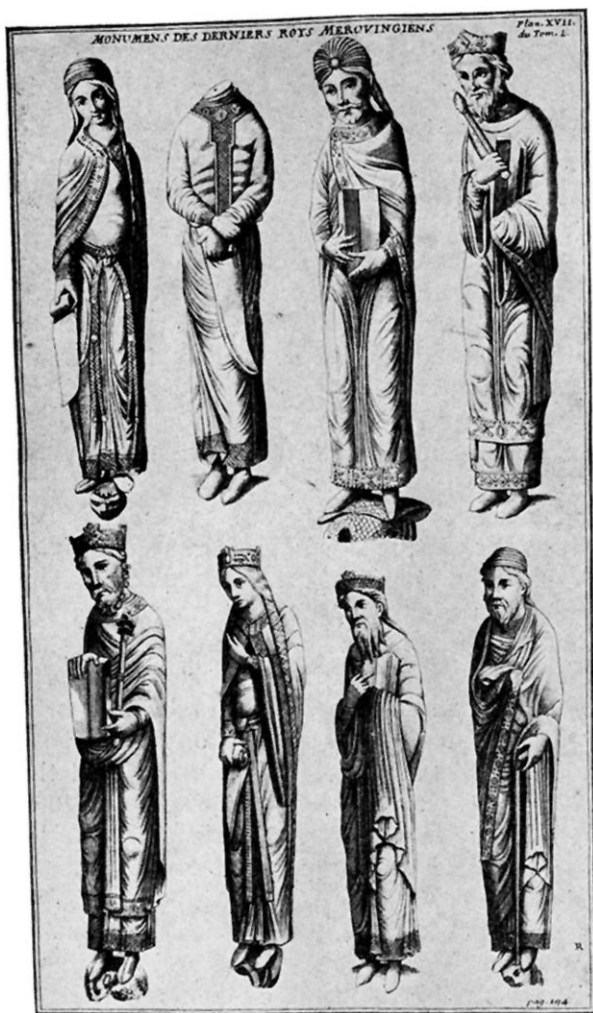


FIGURE 1.—SCULPTURES OF ST. DENIS.
From Montfaucon.

sculpture are so bewildering that they have seemed almost insuperable. There is an embarrassment in the very wealth of material. Countless monuments, often of great beauty, exist throughout Europe unphotographed, unpublished, and even unrecorded. A superficial examination of the field is sufficient to reveal the fact that all the schools are inter-related. Resemblances and analogies exist which are too striking

and too persistent to be attributed to chance. Yet to disentangle the threads of this complex snarl is a task of the utmost difficulty, beset with complications and chances for error on all sides.

It is only in recent years that one important thread has been pulled out. French archaeologists have discovered in St.-Denis a focal point for the history of mediaeval sculpture. The portals executed by Suger between 1140 and 1144 perished in the Revolution and the destructive restoration of the nineteenth century. But the inaccurate drawings of Montfaucon (Fig. 1) and some fragments of the original work that still survive in the central portal are sufficient to prove that the sculptures of St.-Denis were derived from Languedoc. It is going too far to say that they were the work of a Languedoc artist, for there exist in the

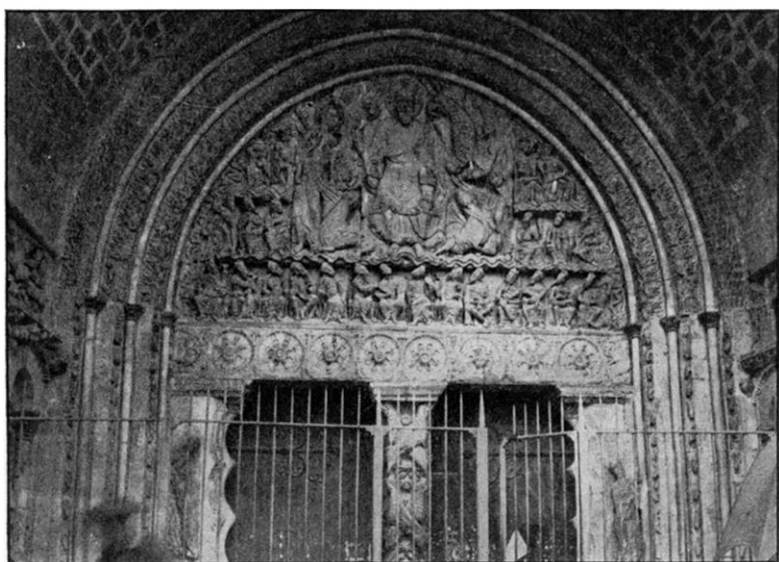


FIGURE 2.—THE PORCH: MOISSAC.

St.-Denis sculptures features which cannot be accounted for in Languedoc. Nevertheless, the crossed legs, the draperies with parallel incised lines, the elongated proportions, and numerous other details are clear evidence not only of strong, but of dominating Languedoc influence. It is even possible to conjecture that the sculptors of St.-Denis drew their inspiration from one particular monument in Languedoc—Beaulieu; and Beaulieu in turn is only a debased copy of the porch at Moissac (Fig. 2) made by an inferior sculptor. It is equally clear, on the other hand, that from St.-Denis (Fig. 1) are derived the western portal of Chartres

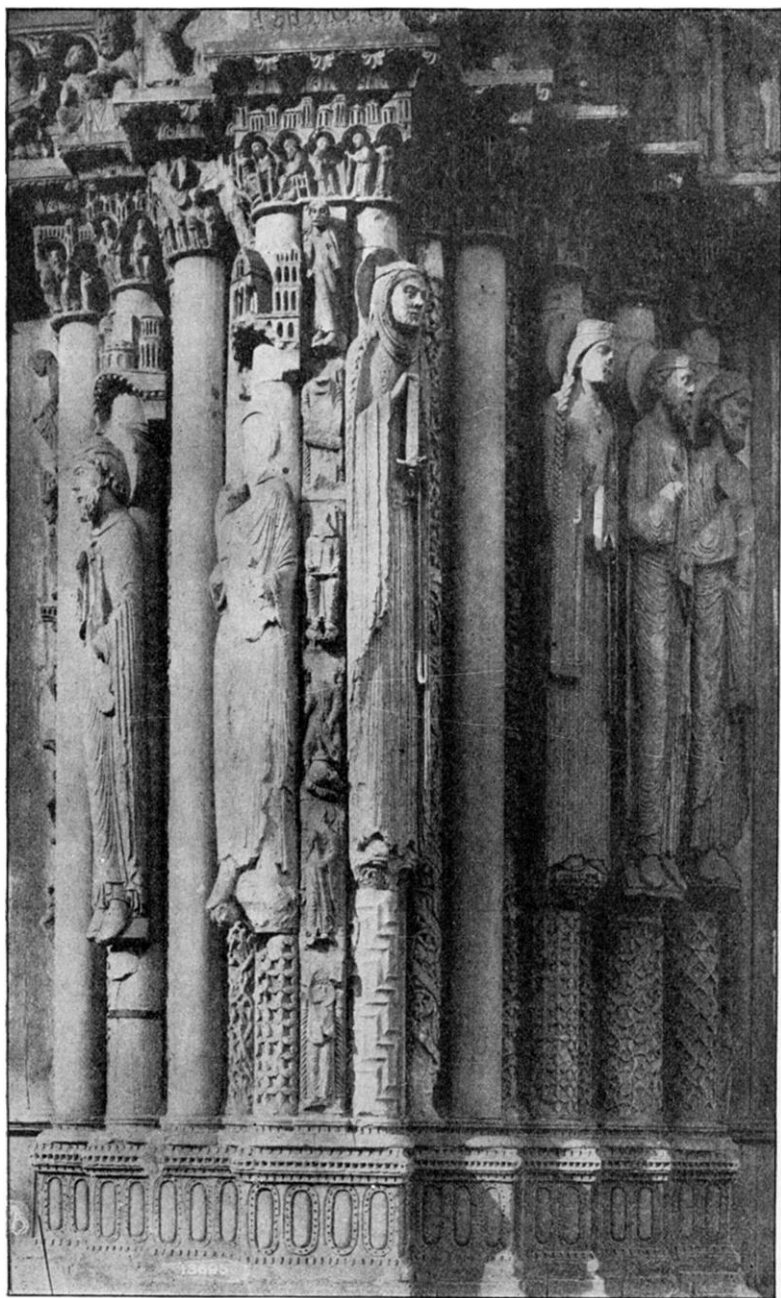


FIGURE 3.—JAMB SCULPTURES OF WESTERN PORTAL: CHARTRES.

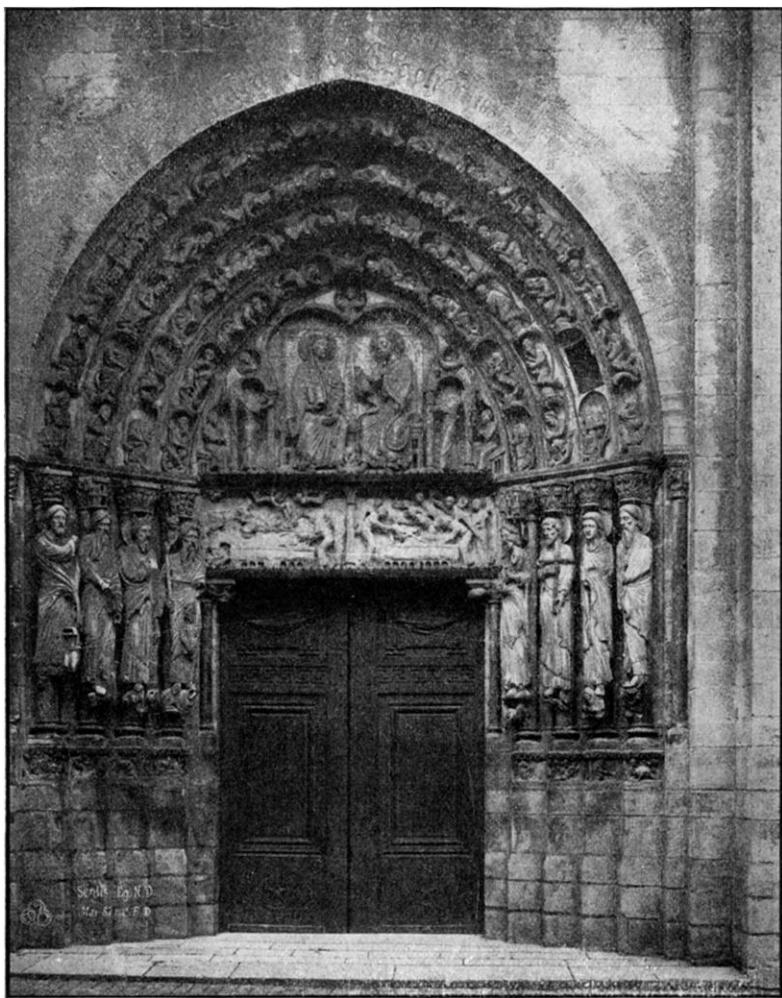


FIGURE 4.—WEST PORTAL OF CATHEDRAL: SENLIS.

(Fig. 3), the southern porch at Le Mans, the great doorway at Senlis (Fig. 4), and, in fact, all Gothic sculpture. Among the confused cross currents and conflicting tendencies in the history of Romanesque art, this principal line of development therefore stands forth clear and unchallenged; Moissac porch (Fig. 2), Beaulieu, St.-Denis (Fig. 1), Chartres (Fig. 3).

It is natural to try to follow the thread thus far disentangled

further back, and seek its origin. The sculptures of the porch of Moissac (Fig. 2) must have been executed long enough before 1140 to allow for the execution of the portal at Beaulieu before Chartres (Fig. 3) was begun in that year. On the other hand, they must be later than 1135, since they are contemporary with the portrait of the abbot Roger. The inscription of this portrait qualifies the abbot with the title of *Beatus*, which proves that he appears not as a donor, but as a saint, and that therefore



FIGURE 5.—CLOISTER: MOISSAC.

the sculpture was executed not by him, but after his death which is usually placed in 1135. It is evident that the art of sculpture must have advanced with a rapidity that is little short of astounding during the five years 1135–1140.

When, however, we seek the origin of the porch sculptures at Moissac, we are confronted with difficulties that have not yet been solved. Notwithstanding the acknowledged importance of the school of Languedoc, its history is shrouded in obscurity, and its chronology to the highest degree uncertain. The sculptures of the cloister of Moissac (Fig. 5) are dated 1100 by an inscription. Between these sculptures (Fig. 5) and those of the porch (Fig. 6), there lies a gulf which is only very incompletely

filled by the fragments at St.-Sernin and in the museum of Toulouse. Back of the cloister of Moissac we cannot go. The art appears here suddenly, without preparation, unconnected with anything that is known of earlier date in this or any other region. It proceeds jerkily and unevenly, with many gaps and incomprehensible breaks, to the porch at Moissac, then it develops with phenomenal rapidity to the triumphs of St.-Denis and Chartres.

Up to the present, therefore, archaeology has been unable to account for the extraordinary development which took place in the

school of Languedoc between 1100 and 1135. The elongation of the figures, the introduction of movement, the transparent draperies, the feeling for line that characterize the later works of the school and form its elements of vitality are lacking in the earlier works.

Were they discovered by the sculptors of Languedoc? There is little in the monuments that have come down to us, at least so far as they are known to me, to suggest that such was the case. The development of the school, on the contrary, shows a sharp break such as might be brought about by the introduction of foreign influence. Something little short of a revolution took place after the execution of the sculptures of the ambulatory of St.-Sernin and the Moissac



FIGURE 6.—PORCH: MOISSAC.

cloister and before the creation of those of the south porch of St.-Sernin.

The suspicion arises that this foreign influence may have come from Burgundy. The close relationship of the sculptures of Burgundy and Languedoc is, I believe, not open to question. The elongated proportions, the spread-apart knees of the seated

figures, the treatment of the folds of the draperies, are only a few of the many striking analogies. It is, however, of course equally possible that Burgundy may have derived from Languedoc. The matter can only be settled when the chronology of the two schools is explored in detail. Uncertain as is that of Languedoc, the history of the Burgundian school is involved in even greater obscurity. The portal of Autun, which dates from 1132 (Fig. 7), is contemporary with, or even earlier than, the porch sculptures at Moissac (Fig. 2). It is therefore quite possible that the porch

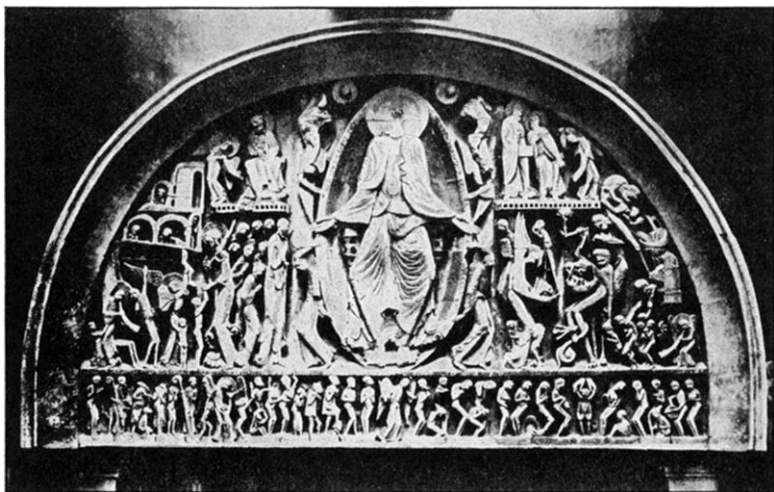


FIGURE 7.—THE TYMPANUM: AUTUN.

of Moissac may have been influenced by Autun. It is, moreover, certain that the Burgundian school of sculpture had been formed much prior to the execution of the portal of Autun. The inner portal of Charlieu, which seems to be clearly part of the church dedicated in 1094, shows that at the end of the eleventh century Burgundian sculpture already possessed several features we generally associate with the school of Languedoc.¹ It must, moreover, be remembered that Cluny was in Burgundy and that

¹ The elongation of the figures and the feeling for line were ultimately derived from Byzantine ivory-carvings. Other important characteristics seem to have been taken from Benedictine ivory-carvings (Fig. 8). Unless, indeed, it should turn out, as may not improbably be the case, that the ivory-carvings are derived from the sculptures and hence misdated from one to three centuries.

Cluny was a powerful influence in transmitting artistic ideals. It is true that the attempt to find in Burgundy and the abbey of Cluny the great centre of Romanesque art has failed. Cluny sucked in more often than she gave out. But on the other hand, it would be a gross exaggeration to say that she never gave out, and it is an indubitable fact that artistic influences were transmitted by Cluniac monks. The narthex of Tournus, to cite an obvious example, is identical in style with certain Cluniac churches in Lombardy (such as Fontanella), and must have been executed by Lombard workmen introduced under the influence of Cluny. It is probable that the influence of Cluny was not absent in the sculptures of the Cluniac abbey of Moissac (Fig. 2).

Nor are other indications lacking that the school of Burgundy originated at an earlier date and exerted a more powerful influence than is generally supposed.

There is a striking analogy between the sculptures of Calvenzano (Fig. 9), a Cluniac priory near Milan, and those of the great priory of Vézelay (Fig. 10). In each case the arch-volt is divided into a number of bas-reliefs by radiating divisions. The unusual delicacy of the technique, the scheme of



FIGURE 8.—BENEDICTINE IVORY CARVING:
J. P. MORGAN COLLECTION, METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM.

composition, numerous resemblances of detail prove the close relationship of the two portals. The reliefs of Calvenzano, however, are not, as might be at first supposed, derived from Vézelay. The sculptor of Calvenzano worked also at Pontida upon the tomb of S. Alberto, who died in 1095. This, and the architectural details, make it clear that the sculptures of Calvenzano date from the early years of the twelfth century. The sculptures of Vézelay, on the other hand, are generally believed to be not earlier than 1132. Calvenzano, therefore, appears to be earlier than Vézelay, and that such is indeed the case is confirmed by a study of the



FIGURE 9.—WESTERN PORTAL: CALVENZANO.

style. The sculptures of Calvenzano lack the attenuation which is so striking a characteristic of those of Vézelay and which was introduced into Romanesque art during the third decade of the twelfth century. Although very fine, the Calvenzano sculptures are in drawing obviously more archaic. Are we therefore to conclude that Vézelay was derived from Calvenzano? I think not. It is far more probable that both are derived from some common original lost, or at least unknown to me, and that the original was in Burgundy and possibly at Cluny.

This same motive of the radiating voussoirs was destined to undergo a singular evolution. At Civray (Fig. 11) it is repeated with developments. The figures are placed in even more exaggeratedly inclined and horizontal positions, and certain ones show

distinct elongation. From such an archivolt as this it would be a short step to omit the radiating divisions, and the result would be voussoir sculptures. These indeed appear at Notre-Dame-de-la-Couldre, Parthenay (Vienne), at Civray (Fig. 11), at the outer



FIGURE 10.—PORTAL OF NARTHEX: VÉZELAY.

portal at Vézelay, and at St.-Denis, and form, indeed, one of the several features of the epoch-making portal at St.-Denis which do not seem to have been derived from Languedoc.

Such, it seems to me, are the most important threads that can be traced through in the vast network of French Romanesque

sculpture. There is a seductive danger in attempting to reduce so broad a subject to simple terms. The plain fact is that the matter is complex, that the monuments and documents upon which any synthetic history must be founded are not available, and that perhaps the most significant ones have perished without leaving any trace. While giving great monuments like Moissac and St.-Denis their full importance and seizing with eagerness any threads of development we can lay our hands upon, we must not forget that we are touching only a very small corner of the field.

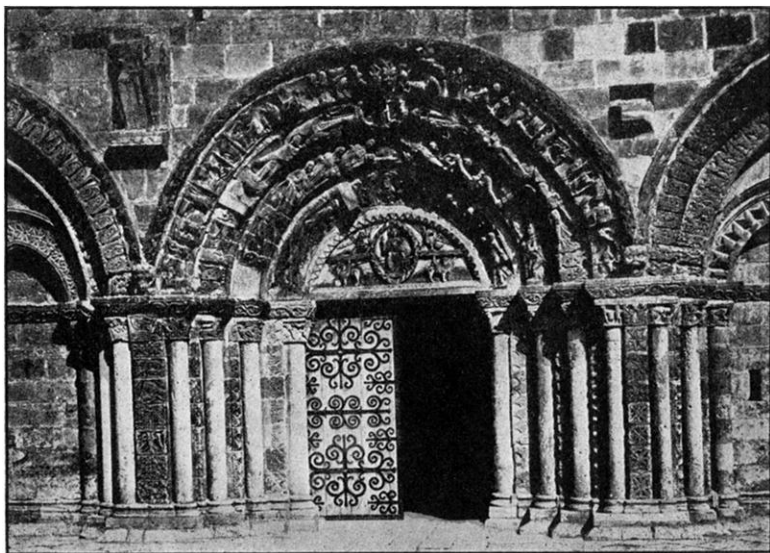


FIGURE 11.—THE PORTAL: CIVRAY.

Exceedingly much still remains obscure. Whole schools of French sculpture, like that of Poitou are still unknown. Thousands of influences and cross influences radiate back and forth and in all directions. The Middle Ages were essentially decentralized. It is a fundamental misconception of their character to suppose that there was any one focus from which all influences radiated. There were on the contrary many centres, and each was constantly influencing the other.

In Lombardy the general outlines of the development of sculpture are clearer. There is no doubt that during the great part of the twelfth century Lombard sculptors fell under the influence now of one, now of the other of the great schools of

France. This fact, to which I believe I was the first to call attention,¹ seems to be now generally admitted. From the third decade to the end of the twelfth century the Lombard artists showed themselves conscious of the extraordinary progress which was being made north of the Alps. Are we to conclude from this that the Lombard school was entirely devoid of originality, merely a weak echo of ultramontane models? After a study of the evidence I came in my *Lombard Architecture* to a negative conclusion. I found, first of all, that in the first two decades of the twelfth century Lombard sculpture, especially in the hands of the master Guglielmo, was by no means a slavish imitation of foreign models, but that it actually anticipated important later developments in France, and I found many indications that even in the last part of the twelfth century, while undoubtedly strongly influenced by the North, it also exerted an influence in return.

These conclusions have been questioned by M. Mâle² who



FIGURE 12.—ARCHITRAVE OF PORTAL, NORTH TRANSEPT: CREMONA.

seeks to demonstrate that Lombard sculpture was the work of masters of Languedoc and exerted no influence north of the Alps. He accepts my observation that Nicolò was influenced by the art of Languedoc, though without mention of my name. He reiterates the obvious truth, questioned by no one, that Benedetto was influenced by Provence, Languedoc, and the Ile-de-France. In regard to all this there is likely to be little dispute. Future observers will doubtless find much additional evidence leading to the same conclusion. They will, for example, observe the very close analogy between the lintel of the northern transept at Cremona (Fig. 12) and that of St.-Sernin of Toulouse (compare also Fig. 2). They will amuse themselves in tracing the diffusion of certain mannerisms such as the curious cap with gores like a

¹ *Lombard Architecture*, vol. I, p. 271.

² *Op. cit.*

pudding-mould which appears at St.-Sernin of Toulouse, in other monuments of Languedoc, at St.-Denis (Fig. 1) and is rapidly copied at Vézelay, in the southern portal of Bourges, in ivory-carvings (Fig. 13), that becomes characteristic of the art of Benedetto, and from him seems to have found its way into Spain,

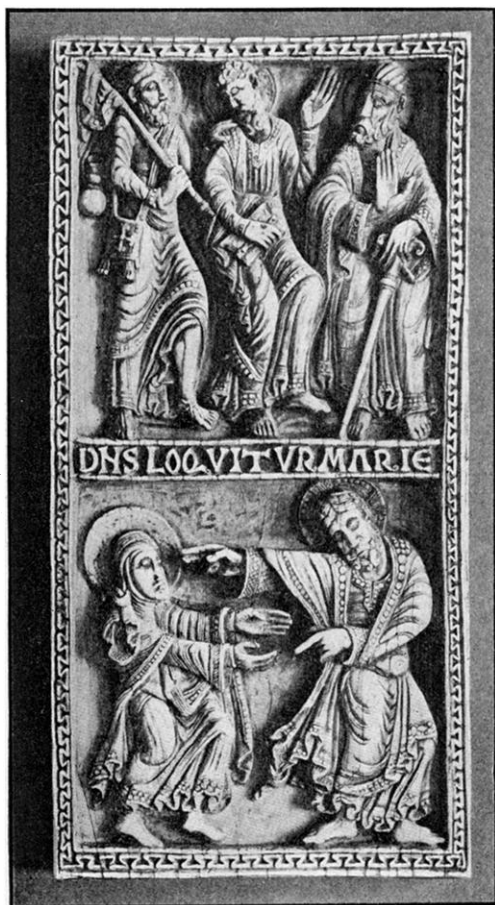


FIGURE 13.—IVORY CARVING: MORGAN COLLECTION.

and to have been adopted by the sculptors of the *cenas* at Modena and Beaucaire. I venture to observe however, that there is a certain danger in arguing that all sculptures which show analogies with French sculptures are necessarily derived from them. Until the chronology is determined, no intelligent discussion of cross influences is possible, and the chronology of the twelfth century sculpture in France is still in a chaotic condition. Thus it is admitted by everyone that the sculptures of Arles present analogies with those of Benedetto. This resemblance has been used by M. Michel writing

in his *Histoire de l'Art* to show that the Provençal sculptors were influenced by Lombardy, and is now used by M. Mâle to show that Lombardy was influenced by Provence. Obviously the matter can only be settled when the dates of the Provençal

portals are determined by independent evidence, as those of Benedetto have already been.¹

In general, however, M. Mâle is in essential agreement with me in maintaining that Italy from 1120 to 1200 owed much to France. The new and striking part of his thesis, and the part from which I dissent, is the assertion that the Lombard school was entirely lacking in originality. In order to sustain this point he is forced to suppose that Guglielmo worked, not in the early years of the twelfth century, but some five decades later. It is a daring assertion which is not only entirely unsupported by documentary evidence but even in direct contradiction to known facts.

The approximate, if not precise, dates of Guglielmo are indeed among the few things in the whole field of twelfth century sculpture which may be considered as determined beyond the possibility of reasonable doubt. We know, first of all, that Guglielmo worked upon the cathedral of Modena which was begun in 1099 and consecrated in 1106. We know also that this same Guglielmo worked at Cremona on the cathedral begun in 1107 and destroyed in 1117. That M. Mâle actually goes so far as to question that the sculptures of Cremona are by Guglielmo shows to what an extent his thesis—seductive, I admit—necessitates the shutting of one's eyes to obvious truth. No unbiased person could study the representations of Enoch and Elijah at Modena (Fig. 14) and Cremona² without being convinced that they are by the same hand.

¹ Similarly, M. Mâle notes a close and striking analogy between the *cena* at Modena and that at Beaucaire, between the capitals of the Modena museum and the Beaucaire capitals. This is in his eyes a sufficient proof that the Modena sculptures are copies of those at Beaucaire. Yet even he admits that the quality of the work at Modena is much finer than that at Beaucaire. There is, indeed, internal evidence that the Modena relief may be in fact the original, the Beaucaire sculpture, the copy. The original artist was obviously a pupil of Benedetto, working under his strong influence, and Benedetto was a Lombard, not a Languedocien. Furthermore, in both reliefs John is placed at the left of Christ, Judas at his right. This reversal of the usual law of hierarchial precedence is distinctly a Latin and a Lombard characteristic. It is entirely possible, and even, I think, probable, that when the chronology of the Beaucaire sculptures is determined, it will be found that instead of being a prototype, they are a derivative of Modena.

² I am disappointed that owing to war conditions I am unable to reproduce the inedited Enoch and Elijah of Cremona, but hope to obtain a photograph for a continuation of this article to be published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. This sculpture proves beyond doubt that Guglielmo worked at Cremona.



FIGURE 14.—ENOCH AND ELIJAH, WITH SIGNATURE OF GUGLIELMO: MODENA.

These two inscriptions alone suffice to fix the activity of Guglielmo in the first two decades of the twelfth century. It is, however, far from being all the evidence. The style of Guglielmo was imitated throughout northern Italy from the second decade of the twelfth century. The ambo sculptures of Quarantoli, which date from 1114, were executed under the direct inspiration of his style. As much may be said of the ambo at Bellagio which evidently is contemporary. One of Guglielmo's assistants at Modena worked on the cathedral of Borgo San Donnino which was consecrated in 1106.¹ Another worked on the portal of S. Celso at Milan which is proved by the character of the architecture to have been built *ca* 1125. Other imitators of Guglielmo were busy at Nonantola soon after 1121. Guglielmo's pupil, Nicolò, was active at Sagra San Michele as early as 1120 and has left us dated works

¹ M. Mâle takes an untenable position in assigning the Porta della Pescheria at Modena to the end of the twelfth century, or to the thirteenth century. Not only does he again disregard documentary evidence, and ignore the clearly archaic style of the sculptures and of the architectural accessories, but in this case he collides with an even more obvious proof of the truth. The inscriptions are in a type of character not used in Lombardy after the early years of the twelfth century. See the excellent study of Giulio Bertoni, *Atlante storico-paleografico del duomo di Modena*. Modena, Orlandini, 1909, 4°.

of 1122 at Piacenza. The works of the same artist at Ferrara date from 1135, those at S. Zeno of Verona from 1138 and those of the cathedral of Verona from 1139. The cathedral of Parma, of which the earliest capitals show the influence of Guglielmo, was begun *ca.* 1117. The influence of Guglielmo is shown by a group of sculptors who worked at Isola S. Giulio *ca.* 1120, and who have left us at Aosta works dated 1133 by an unequivocal inscription. The sculptor who worked at Sasso *ca.* 1125 derived his art from Guglielmo as did also that other one who executed the sculptures of Cavana *ca.* 1130. The north and south portals of Borgo San Donnino show the art of Nicolò imitated as early as *ca.* 1135, as do also the sculptures of S. Illaria di Baganza *ca.* 1140. The dates of any one of these monuments might be open to suspicion taken by itself, although the documentary evidence for several is so strong it could not readily be set aside. But the cumulative series is overwhelming. It is not possible that the documents, if misleading, could dovetail together to form a series showing so smooth and logical a development. The date of the sculptures is moreover entirely confirmed by the character of the architectural accessories. If M. Mâle were more familiar with the Lombard monuments, he certainly would not be so rash as to assign the activity of Guglielmo to the second half of the twelfth century.

Moreover, the very style of the sculptures of Guglielmo confirms the view that they must date from early in the twelfth century. A comparison of one of Guglielmo's prophets at Modena (Fig. 15) with the sculptures of the cloister (Fig. 5) at Moissac, which date from 1100 and with those of the porch at Moissac (Fig. 6) which date from 1135-1140, will suffice to convince that Guglielmo's work resembles the former much more closely than the latter. If M. Mâle had tried to show that the art of Guglielmo is derived from the cloisters of Moissac, we might have been



FIGURE 15.—ISAIAS: WESTERN PORTAL, MODENA.

tempted to follow him. I have already debated whether such might not be the case. But when he supposes that Guglielmo knew St.-Denis and Chartres, he is surely far wide of the mark. No sculptor, however unskilful—and anyone who knows the work of Guglielmo realizes that whatever his shortcomings he was an artist of power—in trying to imitate the elongated, graceful, ethereal, delicate work of St.-Denis (Fig. 1) could have produced the stocky, heavy, short, solid figures of Modena (Fig. 14). It is evident at half a glance that at Senlis (Fig. 4) we have a classic, at Modena, an archaic, art. Surely the distance of forty years is none too little to place between the production of the primitive sculptures of Modena and the perfected work of the Ile-de-France.



FIGURE 16.—ISAI-AH BY GUGLIELMO: CREMONA.

It is none the less certain that analogies exist between the work of Guglielmo and that of much later date in the Ile-de-France. The jamb sculptures of Cremona (Fig. 16) are the earliest known example of this motive, destined to become so characteristic of French art. M. Mâle has accurately recognized a striking analogy in the treatment of certain draperies in the sculptures of Modena, St.-Denis, and Senlis. A capital in the museum of Soissons (Figs. 17, 18) and another in the museum of Beauvais show curls which are precisely like those of Guglielmo (Figs. 14, 16). Lombard influence in some way or other touched the Ile-de-France. Suger himself tells us that he called together his glass-workers "from many different nations." There can be little doubt that he exercised an equal eclecticism in choosing his sculptors.

The man who planned to transport marble columns from Rome would not hesitate to appropriate a good idea for his sculpture wherever he could find it. And while Languedoc undoubtedly furnished the chief inspiration for the new art created at St.-Denis, certain Lombard and possibly also Burgundian features were incorporated.

Among Romanesque jamb sculptures there is a considerable group which, however beautiful from an aesthetic standpoint, may be eliminated from our present study because they are later in



FIGURE 17.—CAPITAL IN MUSEUM: SOISSONS.



FIGURE 18.—CAPITAL IN MUSEUM: SOISSONS.

date than the portal of St.-Denis and consequently could not have served as inspiration for its composition. Such are the noble portal of Valcabrière—perhaps the grandest achievement of Romanesque sculpture in southern France—and the caryatid column of St.-Bertrand-de-Comminges. Such too is the figure



FIGURE 19.—SCULPTURES FROM THE CHAPTER-HOUSE OF ST.-ETIENNE: MUSEUM, TOULOUSE.

to be found in the sculptures of the Daurade and of St.-Étienne of Toulouse (Fig. 19). The analogy here, however, is only partial. The figures are miniature instead of being life-size. At St.-Étienne they were also, and this is an important point, *cut into* the jamb from the angle, instead of being *applied*

engaged on a column in the cloister of Lavandieu, and the figures on the façades of Arles and St.-Gilles, and in the porch of Loches. Later than St.-Denis in all probability is also the holy-water basin of Chalmières and certainly the cloister figures of Arles, these both strangely reminiscent of the art of Nicolò. We search southern France in vain for a single true example of jamb sculptures earlier than those of St.-Denis.¹ The closest approach to a prototype is

¹ I reserve judgment on the sculptures in the museum of Le Puy and the restored portal of Bourg-Argental, concerning which I have insufficient information.

on its face. Now the jamb sculptures of Cremona (Fig. 16) are nearly life-size and are applied on the jambs. In both these particulars they resemble the sculptures of Chartres (Fig. 3) where those of St.-Étienne of Toulouse (Fig. 19) differ. St.-Étienne of Toulouse could have been derived from Cremona and Chartres could have been derived from Cremona, but it is impossible Chartres should have been derived from St.-Étienne of Toulouse. Nor is Cremona the only example in Lombardy of sculptures applied to the face of jambs. A Lombard statuette (Fig. 20) which has recently found its way to the Metropolitan Museum in New York¹ shows that this characteristic, so essential in the sculptures of the Ile-de-France and unknown in Languedoc, was traditional in Lombardy.

The question naturally arises, whence did Guglielmo acquire this idea of jamb sculptures? I am tempted to answer that he may have found his inspiration in the great figures in relief on the piers of the cloisters of Moissac (Fig. 5). It is certain that this motive of the Languedoc school enjoyed great popularity. Figures engaged on the wall appear in the porch of Moissac (Fig. 6). It was but a short step to the figures of the façades of Arles and St.-Trophime, in the wall of St.-Sernin, in the cloister of Tournus, and in the porch at Loches. Two figures coming apparently from the piers of a cloister and now in the collection of Mrs. Gardner at Boston are significant in this connection (Fig. 21). They have at their feet monsters in which it is perhaps permitted to see the prototype of the Gothic socle.



FIGURE 20.—LOMBARD STATUETTE: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

¹ I shall return later to this important monument.

The cloisters at Moissac might have been the inspiration both of the Cremona jamb sculptures and of Mrs. Gardner's reliefs. M. Mâle has noted a close analogy between the sculptures of St.-Étienne of Toulouse and those by Nicolò in the cathedrals of Ferrara



FIGURE 21.—COLLECTION OF MRS. GARDNER: BOSTON.

(Fig. 22) and Verona. The existence of this analogy is for M. Mâle a sufficient proof that the figures of Nicolò are derived from those of St.-Étienne of Toulouse. Is it so sure, however, that the

case may not have been the other way about? It is indeed certain that Nicolò fell under the strong influence of the sculptors of Languedoc, but it is also certain that the art of Languedoc was powerfully influenced by Lombardy. In this very church of St.-Étienne at Toulouse there are rib vaults proclaiming in trumpet tones the dominant influence of Northern Italy. It is certain that Nicolò,¹ and probably other sculptors of Lombardy, made the pilgrimage to St. James at Compostela. On this journey they must necessarily have passed through Languedoc with the art of which they consequently became acquainted. But they did more. They left examples of their own work to influence the style of Languedoc. Eloquent testimony of this is found in the rib vaults of Fréjus, Marseilles, St.-Gilles, Moissac, St.-Étienne of Toulouse, St.-Eutrope of Gaintes (1096), and Ste.-Croix of Quimperlé (1083). It is found also in the series

¹ The sculptures of the pilgrimage church at Ripoll are recognized by Michel as being by his school (*Histoire de l'Art*, II, 160). They are indeed executed by assistants under his direction.



FIGURE 22.—SCULPTURED JAMB BY NICOLÒ: FERRARA.

of churches on the road to Compostela in which there worked side by side sculptors from Northern Italy, from Burgundy, from Languedoc, and from the Ile-de-France.¹ The pilgrimage to Compostela formed a sort of melting-pot in which artists from all over Europe met and exchanged their ideas. The sculptures of St.-Étienne of Toulouse (Fig. 19) are said to have come from the chapter house, but I do not know how they were employed in the building. Since they were coupled, two and two, they must have been arranged like the sculptures on the piers of the Arles cloister and so be in no true sense jamb sculptures. They were inspired by the art of Nicolò.

Indeed, Lombard influence touched at more than one point the art of Languedoc. The sculptor who executed the Joseph in the Moissac *Flight into Egypt* certainly knew the work of Guglielmo. It might be supposed that he derived this knowledge by way of Spain, which exerted so potent an influence upon the Moissac cloisters, were it not for the fact that the rib vault of the Moissac porch makes it certain that the Moissac artists knew Lombardy at first-hand. A capital of Aniane (Herault)² shows hair treated with the same convention familiar in the work of Guglielmo, but the rib vault of the neighbouring church of Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert as well as the architectural character of the apse of that church³ make it evident that the builders of this region were intimately acquainted with the work of Lombardy. When one observes, therefore, that the beard of the Saint Peter at Souillac shows analogy to certain of Guglielmo's beards, one suspects that far from being a prototype it also may chance to be a derivative.

It is, however, not with Languedoc that the work of Guglielmo shows the closest relationship. One is astonished that M. Mâle apparently did not perceive its much closer analogy with the sculpture of Poitou, the more so since I had already called attention to it.⁴ This similarity is most marked in the sculptures of Notre-Dame-la-Grande of Poitiers (Fig. 23). The drapery of certain figures, for example that of the angel of the *Annunciation*, is completely Lombard, as is also the figure of Eve in the *Temptation*. Guglielmo-like also are the curls of the prophet farthest to the left in the north section of the façade, the face of the other

¹ This has been recognized and proved by Miss King and Michel.

² Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. I, part 2, p. 630.

³ Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. IV, pl. 117.

⁴ *Lombard Architecture*, vol. IV, pl. 145.

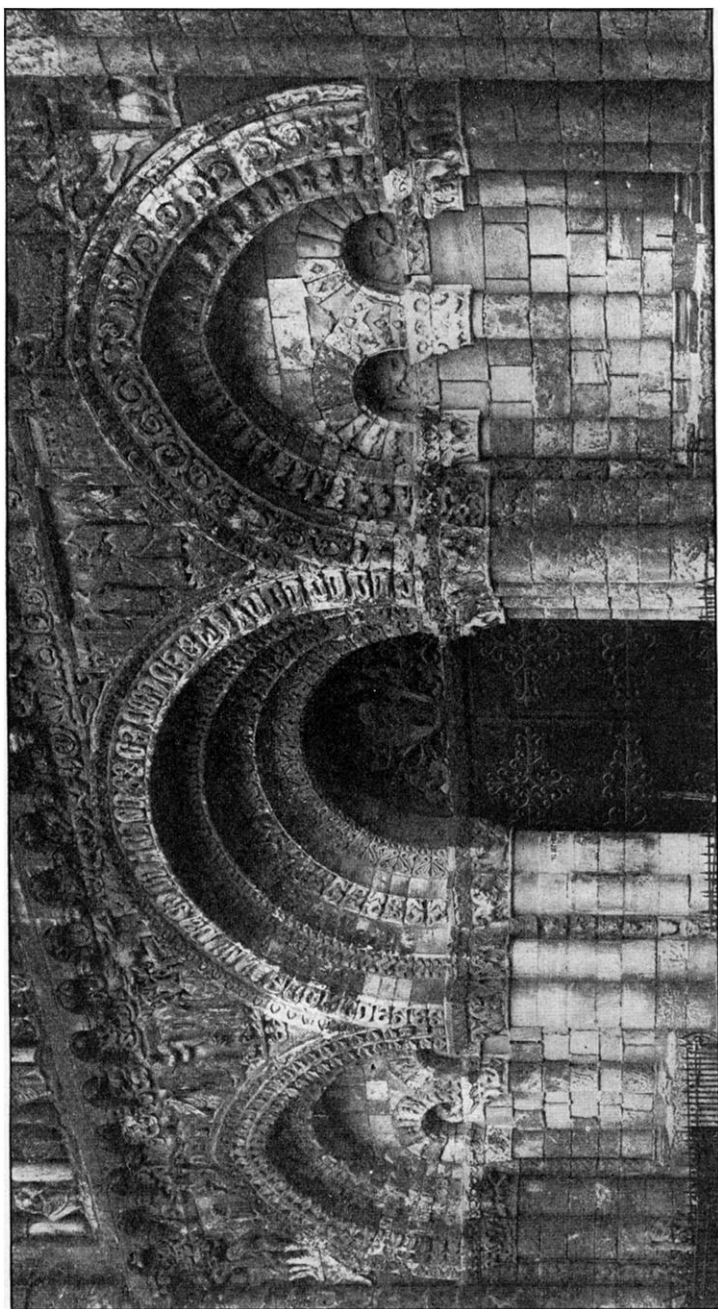


FIGURE 23.—NOTRE-DAME-LA-GRANDE: POITIERS.

prophet, and the wings of the angel of the *Annunciation*. Even the inscriptions on the scrolls of the prophets are the same as those on the scrolls of Guglielmo's prophets at Cremona.¹ At Parthenay-le-Vieux (Deux-Sèvres) (Fig. 24) the fluttering draperies recall



FIGURE 24.—NORTH PORTAL, WEST FAÇADE: PARTHENAY-LE-VIEUX.

¹ These inscriptions are quotations from a pseudo-Augustine sermon which enjoyed great popularity in France and evidently also in Italy. From this sermon developed the miracle play of the prophets which possibly also exerted its influence upon the composition of the sculptures of Notre-Dame-la-Grande. One must, however, be on one's guard against ascribing too much to these miracle plays. Their authors as a rule followed traditions and conceptions which were the common thought of Christendom, and an analogy between a group of sculptures and a drama does not necessarily prove that the former was the inspiration of the latter. Both may well spring from a common tradition, which in this case was undoubtedly the current interpretation of the popular pseudo-Augustine sermon. The inscriptions on the scrolls are quoted not from the drama but from the sermon.

Nicolò's *Theodoric* at S. Zeno of Verona.¹ At St.-Jouin-de-Marne, the curls of the beard and the draperies are distinctly Guglielmoesque. The sculptor who executed the great figures inlaid in the wall of Loches had surely seen Guglielmo's work at Modena as well as St.-Sernin and St.-Denis. Ile-Bouchard, which lies in the valley of the Indre not far from Poitou, is, as I have already pointed out,² obviously Guglielmoesque. Certain sculptures even of the cathedral of Angoulême (strongly Languedoc in character as this monument generally is) show Lombard influence. Thus one fragment published by M. Michel³ representing horsemen in the gates of a city, is closely analogous to Lombard work. It recalls at once the sculptures of Pontida and Benedetto's frieze at Borgo San Donnino. That it was in fact inspired by Lombardy is sufficiently shown by the strongly Lombardic foliage above. Indeed, Lombard influence is apparent throughout this region, not only in the sculpture, but in the architecture as well, as even French writers have recognized.⁴ The façade of St.-Jouin-de-Marne (the sculptures of which we have already seen are strongly Lombardic) was inspired by that of S. Michele of Pavia.⁵ In both we find the same division by unmeaning shafts and the insertion of rambling bits of sculpture in projecting relief. Lombard influence is evident in the sculptures of both periods at Selles-sur-Cher. At Saintes there is a rib vault. It is clear that the sculpture of Poitou instead of being, as is generally supposed, under the exclusive influence of Languedoc, was much more under the influence of Lombardy.

In this connection it is interesting to return to the statuette at the Metropolitan (Fig. 20). It is a small figure engaged upon a round jamb, and clearly belongs to the school of Guglielmo da Modena, but in certain details it is analogous to works in Poitou.

¹ Sagra S. Michele, where Nicolò worked ca. 1120, had close relations with Maillezais (Deux-Sèvres) as is proved by the chronicle of the latter.

² *Lombard Architecture*, vol. IV, pl. 145.

³ *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. I, part 2, p. 653.

⁴ See for example, André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. I, part 2, p. 647. "Dans les Landes, comme à Hagetmau, les formes des chapiteaux aux lions affrontés, témoignent d'influences lombardes assez actives dans cette région jusqu'à une époque avancée."

⁵ These shafts became characteristic of the region, being found at Vouvant (Deux-Sèvres) and in numerous other churches.

I am satisfied that it was executed by one of the followers of Guglielmo who was active at Isola San Giulio *ca.* 1120, and at Aosta in 1133. The fact that it is of white marble leads me to conjecture that it may have formed part of the portal of S. Ponzo Canavese, since in that locality there was an abundance of this material.¹ However that may be, there can be little doubt that the Metropolitan statuette was executed somewhat later than the cloister of Aosta, probably *ca.* 1140. It is likely that the sculptor in the meanwhile had made a journey to Poitou. This is indicated not only by the style but by the significant fact that the figure represents St. Hilaire, doubtless the patron of Poitiers, although he is clothed as a monk rather than as a bishop.² This important fragment derives from the art of Nicolò in its small dimensions, but, as has been seen, from that of Guglielmo in that it is applied, not incised. The work of an Italian sculptor who sprang from a union of the influence of Milan and of Guglielmo, who knew the work of Nicolò, and who made a journey to Poitou, it is of singular significance for the study of the complex relationships of French and Italian sculptors in the Romanesque period. Whether Poitou may not have been the connecting link between Lombardy and the Ile-de-France is a point which deserves careful investigation.

Whatever future researches may show in this regard, it is certain that the art of Lombardy cannot be ignored among the form-

¹ The tradition that this fragment comes from the Veneto is probably based upon its obvious relationship with the works of Nicolò at Ferrara and Verona.

² On the scroll is this inscription:

S̄CS HILAR
SED HEC DEBIT
QUE IUXT' PLEBIS SI
CULARIQUE SERUI
TO P[ER]TINERE UIDE
BANTUR DE TERRI
TORIO QUOD MILI
TES CIRCUIERĀT
CUM OMIBUS IU
STIS OBSEQUI
IS SCO UIRO DE
DIT

ative factors in the rise of Romanesque sculpture. If at times it was deeply influenced by the various schools of France, it exerted an important influence in return, and among other things contributed to France the vital motive of jamb sculptures.

A. KINGSLEY PORTER.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
NEW HAVEN, CONN.